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Governors can avoid positions on war and peace by saying it is none of their business. It is every American's business. My own position—and the overwhelming sentiment of the people of my State—is to fully support President Johnson in every effort to seek peace without surrender. We know that appeasement only whets the appetite of aggression—and we stand with the President if he is determined to stop the spread of communism in Asia—and in the world.

These are just five areas in which State governments can take new initiatives. That is the kind of thinking designed to preserve and extend the American free enterprise system, while anticipating and meeting the human needs of tomorrow's Americans.

My brand of republicanism is absolute concern for the individual—as an individual. We must get across the Republican concept of government: close to the people, visible to the people, responsive to the people.

In these 500 days, those who object to our concept—those who believe in big brother, tax-and-spend government—will pursue a tried but not true method of stopping us. They think that method is "divide and conquer."

We are not going to let it happen. It won't happen. As one example, I have found enormous areas of common cause with Governor Reagan of California and Governor Rockefeller of New York. We have consulted and cooperated: our styles may be different, but Republican principles underlie all our efforts.

We must take pride in our talent-in-depth. In our Nixons and our Romneys, in our Dirksens, Brookes and Percys, our Towers and Hatfields and Volpes and Rhodes. In our Fords and Lindsays, and in many, many others. Where are their Democratic equals? Look at these men of the future. And look at the men shackled to the sloganeering past: Johnson talking of the "great" rather than the "good" society, Humphrey talking—and talking, Bobby Kennedy talking—and growing only hair—not new concepts.

Let us tell the people the truth about what has been inflicted on this country in the sacred name of progress. It has become a national disease—and each of us is suffering in some degree from it.

*I call it "gradualism."*

What is "gradualism?" It's bringing forward, very quietly, an idea—or a program—or a project, one step at a time.

It's asking Congress for just a little money. Just a few million, or maybe just a few hundred million, and then adding a second story, a third story, a new wing, a whole new structure on top of another structure.

And all the while adding new bureaucrats to the Federal payroll, and getting more hundreds of millions of dollars from Congress to sustain this gradual growth.

And when this grasping gradualism has had its way, we find ourselves sucked into the enveloping quicksand of poverty programs, job corps programs, and other Jerry-built bureaucratic skyscrapers—which we are then told we must continue to subsidize with additional millions—or billions—lest they collapse altogether.

Obviously, no great number of reasonable people would have bought these Federal eye-sores had they been revealed in all their humpty-dumpty emptiness at the beginning.

But, by using the carefully polished techniques of "gradualism," they have become accomplished fact—or, more accurately, accomplished fiction.

And in international affairs, democratic gradualism is the tragic story of our involvement in Korea and Viet Nam—a gradualism that has cost American lives—and caused untold anguish.

We have now just about 500 days to tell the American people how gradualism works—and how deeply it has embedded its tentacles into our lives. And—most important—what alternatives there are to this "iceberg" philosophy of government that never tells

us more of anything than shows upon the immediate surface of events.

In these 500 days, Republicans can agree to disagree in some areas, but we must agree to work together to give our Nation a new, forward upward direction.

As a Nation, united we stand; as a party, united we run—and united we will run!

That is why States on the verge of real two-party government have a special responsibility, our success will be the most dramatic, the most visible success.

In any fair competition of ideology, we know that the free enterprise system will triumph over the welfare state. But first we must build the arena for that competition.

That arena is the two-party system that Texas and Florida are beginning to achieve.

We will fight the good fight in that two-party arena. And after five hundred days and nights of united effort—we're going to win.

#### SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the situation in the Middle East requires unified international action if war is to be avoided.

Egyptian President Abdel Nasser has declared a blockade of Israel shipping on the Gulf of Aqaba, in the absence of a United Nations force which has guaranteed free passage in the past. It is not reasonable to expect that Israel will delay very long in responding to this direct challenge to its right to use this international waterway which is vital to its very existence as a nation.

I deeply regret the hasty withdrawal of United Nations troops from Sharm el Sheikh. Some international presence must be reestablished there if a tragic conflict is to be avoided.

Mr. President, all of the great powers of the world have an interest in this matter, since it is a serious threat to peace in the Middle East. I am aware of our Government's representations to the other great powers to do what they can to ease tensions between Egypt and Israel.

At the same time, I am also aware of the U.S. commitment to preserve the boundaries of Israel and the adjacent Arab States as well as to oppose armed aggression. The Egyptian blockade in the Gulf of Aqaba is clearly a threat of armed aggression against Israel. It should be made abundantly clear to everyone involved that this Government will not tolerate the use of force against Israel shipping in international waters.

Every possible precaution should be taken to avoid a military confrontation between Israel and Egypt over this incident. But at the same time, we must make our own commitment plain.

Mr. President, there is a witch's brew being stirred up in the Middle East today. Syria, Egypt, and others are receiving arms from the Soviet Union. The Palestine Liberation Organization is undertaking a constant harassment of Israel, and we even hear the frightening call once again for a holy war. This is not the time for hot blood or unreasoned response, but it is the time for clear talk lest those who would subvert the State of Israel miscalculate.

This Nation is proud that under President Truman we were the first to recognize the new State of Israel 19 years ago. We are proud of the remarkable so-

cial and political growth of this magnificent country, and we are proud of her continuing desire to remain at peace with her neighbors despite repeated provocation.

The cause of Israel involves far more than this small country with her small population. It involves the survival of a small country to be sure, but a great democracy, a symbol of peace, democracy, and social and economic justice to the world. Israel stands as a homeland for the Jews in a world which has far too often reverted to the outrageous practices of anti-Semitism.

So, while we call for peace, while it must be our policy to seek disengagement, while we urge the United Nations to move swiftly, let us at the same time make it clear to the world that this small, magnificent democracy does not stand alone—but shoulder to shoulder with freedom-loving people throughout the world. Israel is not our colony, but she is our friend. She needs us today.

#### THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY, SOUTH DAKOTA BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, earlier this afternoon, the Senate passed the appropriation bill for the Treasury, Post Office, and executive offices. For a number of years during his service in the Senate, the Honorable A. Willis Robertson was chairman of the subcommittee which processed this important bill.

During a part of that time it was my privilege to serve as the ranking Republican member of the subcommittee and throughout that period I developed a great respect and admiration for Senator Robertson and his considerable ability. Not only did he demonstrate a keen appreciation of the subject matter before us but he was unfailing in his courtesy and his consideration.

His 18 years of service in the Senate included membership on the Committee on Banking and Currency as well as on two other committees.

Notwithstanding his retirement, he has maintained a keen interest in public affairs generally and, in particular, in affairs relating to legislation emanating from the Congress.

On May 19, 1967, former Senator Robertson appeared in my neighboring State of South Dakota to address the 75th anniversary of the South Dakota Bankers Association in Rapid City.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of his remarks printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY, SOUTH DAKOTA BANKERS ASSOCIATION, RAPID CITY, S. DAK., MAY 19, 1967

(Remarks of A. Willis Robertson)

It is a pleasure for me to visit the home state of your two fine senators with whom I have been privileged to enjoy a warm friendship. In all matters pertaining to the welfare of our farmers they work together as a splendid team. And what a pleasure it has been to me as a Democrat to have served, first for 8 years in the House and then 13 years in the Senate, with a Republican who shared my love for the out-of-doors, my interest in agriculture, my views on economy in gov-